

ARTHUR KOESTLER

JULY 19, 1951.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House and ordered to be printed

Mr. GRAHAM, from the Committee on the Judiciary, submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany H. R. 1564]

The Committee on the Judiciary, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 1564) for the relief of Arthur Koestler, having considered the same, report favorably thereon without amendment and recommend that the bill do pass.

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to grant the status of permanent residence in the United States to Arthur Koestler. Provision is made for an appropriate quota deduction and for the payment of the required visa fee and head tax.

GENERAL INFORMATION

The beneficiary of this bill was born in Hungary on September 5, 1905, and is a citizen of Great Britain. He last entered the United States as a visitor on September 23, 1950. By profession he is an author and from 1931 to 1938 he was a member of the Communist Party of Germany, from which he resigned in 1938. He went to England in 1940, where he enlisted in the British Army and served until honorably discharged in 1943. Since his break with the Communist Party in 1938 he has used his experiences as a Communist for the exposure of Communist methods and has continued a relentless fight against the Communist menace.

A letter dated April 11, 1951, to the chairman of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary from the Deputy Attorney General with reference to the case reads as follows:

APRIL 11, 1951.

Hon. PAT McCARRAN,

*Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary,**United States Senate, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR SENATOR: This is in response to your request for the views of the Department of Justice relative to the bill (S. 674) for the relief of Arthur Koestler, an alien.

The bill would provide that Arthur Koestler shall be considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of the date of his last entry upon payment of the required head tax and visa fee. It would also direct the Secretary of State to instruct the quota-control officer to deduct one number from the nonpreference category of the appropriate immigration quota for the first year such quota is available.

The files of the Immigration and Naturalization Service of this Department disclose that the alien is a citizen of Great Britain and a native of Hungary, having been born on September 5, 1905, in Budapest, Hungary. He last entered the United States at the port of New York on September 23, 1950, when he was admitted under the ninth proviso to section 3 of the Immigration Act of 1917 for a temporary period not to exceed 4 months upon the filing of a \$1,000 departure bond. The entry was predicated upon an order of the Assistant Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization to the effect that the stay was for the sole purpose of arranging for the publication of a novel and for the theatrical production of a prior work. Mr. Koestler was first admitted to the United States at the port of New York on March 18, 1948, under the ninth proviso to section 3 of the Immigration Act of 1917 as a temporary visitor until May 10, 1948, conditioned upon his maintaining the specific status of lecturer for the International Rescue and Relief Committee.

Mr. Koestler, who is an author by profession, testified that he joined the Communist Party of Germany on December 31, 1931, in Berlin, and became a recognized card-carrying member assigned as a free-lance propagandist. It appears that at that time he was employed by the Ullstein Publishing House, Berlin, as a correspondent but that this relationship was severed in 1932 when it was learned that he was a member of the Communist Party. Mr. Koestler then departed from Germany for Soviet Russia where he accepted a position as correspondent with the Carl Dunker Press Agency. The record indicates that he departed from Russia in 1933, resided in France, and then went to Spain in 1936 as special correspondent of the London News Chronicle "Liberal" to cover the Spanish Civil War. The alien later returned to France where, in early 1938, he disassociated himself from the Communist movement by a letter of resignation to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany and by a speech before the Schutzverband group in Paris. Mr. Koestler alleged further that he was arrested in France in October 1939 during the round-up of aliens at the outbreak of the war, and that after his release, he went to England in 1940 where he enlisted in the British Army and served until honorably discharged in 1943. It appears that following his discharge he served as an ambulance driver, an Army lecturer and a broadcaster for the British Government, devising pamphlets and other propaganda material for the Political Intelligence Division of the Foreign Office. He became a naturalized British citizen in 1948.

During his first visit to the United States, when he was on tour for the International Rescue and Relief Committee, Mr. Koestler lectured on Defense against the totalitarianism Communist menace. Upon his departure, he proceeded to Palestine, where he covered the Palestinian war as a correspondent for the New York Herald Tribune. It appears that he resided in France until his last entry into the United States and that he was married to a British subject on April 25, 1950, in Paris, France. Mrs. Koestler was admitted to the United States at the port of New York as a temporary visitor on December 22, 1950, under section 3 (2) of the Immigration Act of 1924.

Mr. Koestler was a member of the Communist Party of Germany from 1931 to 1938 and therefore is mandatorily excludable from the United States under the provisions of the act of October 16, 1918, as amended by the Internal Security Act of 1950 (Public Law 831, 81st Cong.). Through the afore-mentioned legislation the Congress has indicated a disposition toward restricting the immigration of persons who were former members of the Communist Party or its affiliates. The most recent indication of the intent of the Congress is represented by the enactment of Public Law 14, Eighty-second Congress, approved March 28, 1951, which would exclude from this class persons who were members when under 16 years of age, or by operation of law, or for purposes of obtaining employment, food

rations, or other essentials of living. The record indicates that Mr. Koestler was a voluntary member of the Communist Party and does not come within one of the excepted classes. Furthermore, the quota for Hungary to which he is chargeable is oversubscribed and an immigration visa is not readily obtainable. In this respect, his case is similar to other aliens who desire to obtain the benefits of residence in the United States but who are unable to obtain immigration visas due to the oversubscribed condition of the quotas to which they are chargeable.

Accordingly, the Department of Justice is unable to recommend enactment of the measure.

Yours sincerely,

PEYTON FORD,
Deputy Attorney General.

The files of the Committee on the Judiciary contain a number of statements and affidavits in connection with the beneficiary of the bill, among which are the following:

MEMORANDUM

This memorandum is submitted in connection with S. 674 for the granting of permanent residence to the alien, Arthur Koestler.

Arthur Koestler was born on September 15, 1905, in Budapest. He lived in Budapest until the age of 9, when he and his mother and father emigrated to Vienna. He continued to live in Vienna during the late twenties, until 1926. In 1926 he moved to Paris. In 1926 he accepted the assignment of Middle East correspondent for the Ullstein chain of newspapers. This chain comprised the Vossische Zeitung and other liberal newspapers and magazines. In 1928 Ullstein moved him to Paris and in 1930, he joined the editorial staff in Berlin.

Being a man with a strong disposition toward sociological problems, Mr. Koestler, moved greatly by the unrest that had enveloped Europe, was attracted to Marxism-Leninism. His interest in the ideology of the Communist movement drew him into association with many literary and political figures who had already gone into the Communist Party. Mr. Koestler and some of his associates began to feel at that time the Communist movement represented a vehicle of resistance to the then budding National Socialist movement. He joined the Communist Party, December 3, 1931, being assigned to a literary and artistic cell in Berlin.

Because of the strong intellectual tendencies, Mr. Koestler moved ahead in the party. His position in the party at that time (and remained so for the course of his membership) was predominately that of a literary personality. His work revolved about literary and artistic circles in Paris and Berlin.

In July 1932, Mr. Koestler lost his job because of his association with the Communist Party and was offered a correspondent's spot by Carl Duncker Press Agency, as a correspondent in Russia. In this assignment, he traveled across Russia, the Continent, and central Asia, and his articles are a matter of public record in a number of European newspapers.

Koestler was at the same time commissioned by the Soviet State Publishing Trust to write a party-line book on Soviet Russia. This book was rejected by the Soviet State Publishers.

He stayed in the Soviet Union until the fall of 1933 and then joined (Hitler having meanwhile ascended to power) his friends and colleagues in exile in Paris. He stayed in Paris from 1933 to 1936. His party activities during that period called for collaboration on the so-called Brown Books about Nazi terror published by the Muenzenberg firm which was a Communist front. Will Muenzenberg, head of that publishing firm, was in charge of the Western Bureau of the Agit-prop of the Comintern. Koestler's journalistic and literary activities during the whole period of his associations with the Communist Party were those of a free lance. He never was on the party payroll, except for a period of a few weeks when he acted as a paid research worker for Muenzenberg's Anti-Fascist Archives.

Apart from these activities, Koestler had a short peripheral contact with the Comintern apparatus. This association is described in detail in his context, *The God That Failed* (1949).

In 1936, Koestler went as special correspondent of the London News Chronicle "Liberal" to Spain to cover the Spanish Civil War. His activities in Spain, including his imprisonment by the Nationalist forces, is described in detail in his book, *Dialogue With Death* (1942).

Koestler was liberated from imprisonment in Spain by intervention of the British Government and a few weeks after his departure from Spain broke

completely and publicly with the Communist Party. The time of this disassociation was March 1938. The political and moral reasons which lead to this break are described in *The God that Failed*.

At the outbreak of World War II, Mr. Koestler was in Paris. He was interned together with a number of aliens in France on October 1, 1939, and released by intervention of British Government in March 1940. He later volunteered and served in the French Army, escaping after the collapse of France to Great Britain. On his arrival in the United Kingdom, he was at first detained for 5 weeks, pending a review of his security file, was released and after 5 weeks' detention volunteered for the British Army in which he served until 1943. He, as an alien, was detailed to the Alien's Pioneer Corps, Two Hundred and Fifty-first Company. He was discharged for reasons of health in 1943, but to the end of the war, he held various wartime jobs such as British Army lecturer, broadcaster over the BBC on psychological-warfare programs, ambulance driver, etc. His wartime activities are described in his book *Scum of the Earth* (1941).

Since the end of the war, Koestler has pursued his activities as author and journalist. In this capacity, he worked as a war correspondent for the New York Herald-Tribune, wrote a number of articles for the New York Times, Life magazine, and other American publications. These journalistic activities as well as the books he published since 1938 were almost exclusively devoted to combating totalitarianism in general and communism in particular.

Mr. Koestler's works include *Darkness at Noon*, *Scum of the Earth*, *Arrival and Departure*, *Thieves in the Night*, *The Yogi and the Commissar*, and *Insight and Outlook*. His latest book is *The Age of Longing*.

Attention should be drawn to Mr. Koestler's *Darkness at Noon*. When this first came out in France the political repercussions proved to be tumultuous. Dispassionate reporters have credited this work with being the principal cause of the Communist political set-back in the referendum of 1946. This fact has been publicly acknowledged. In the United States, the book was a Book-of-the-Month choice and was widely distributed. It was adapted for the stage by Mr. Sidney Kingsley and is being presented in New York at this time. The play is hailed as a significant instrument in combating communism. In the short time of its presentation on Broadway it has received the drama critics award and is probably in line for many more honors.

This work represents a full and detailed analysis of the complex factors involved in those intellectual processes that are involved in Communist thought and represents a full disclosure of Mr. Koestler's political thinking and is made part of the record.

Attention is also called to Mr. Koestler's *The Yogi and the Commissar*, written in 1943, which has been translated in over 20 languages which has been used to offset Soviet propaganda behind the iron curtain. This book written in 1943 contains a detailed analysis of political, economical, and cultural trends in Russia since the revolution, and although written during the wartime alliance with Soviet Russia, presented in full the threat to western security which was to materialize 5 years later. The book also reveals that even at that time Mr. Koestler had completely lost all vestiges, sentimental or intellectual, of his Communist associations.

In 1948 Koestler took up residence in France, where he has been living until his present visit. He completed in France his new novel, *The Age of Longing*, published in the United States and England in 1951. The subject of the novel is the resistance of France against the Communist threat. Apart from his literary activities, Koestler was, during the last 6 months one of the initiators of the Congress for Cultural Freedom held in Berlin in July 1950 and of the international movement which issued from it, *Les amis de la Liberte*, in France, and the parallel movement in Italy and Western Germany. He is a member of the five-man international executive committee of this movement. Koestler visited the United States for the first time in 1948 (March to May) on a number of lecture tours on behalf of the International Rescue and Relief Committee. Mr. Koestler is a British subject, having attained that by naturalization in December 1949.

Since Mr. Koestler's arrival in the United States, on or about September 23, 1950, he has clearly shown a willingness to serve our Government in its efforts to combat communism. This service has also been rendered to those private groups who have undertaken this important task. His complete candor in discussing his personal experiences within the party has proven to be invaluable to his listeners. He gives freely of his time and energies to all of those groups, In February 1951, Mr. Koestler addressed a meeting of intelligence officers of the Third Naval District. His discussion of the problem was well received and

was considered by a number of those present as a useful aid in their work. On March 1, 1951 he was awarded a citation by the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission, which stated, "He has inspired man, the world over, to oppose human enslavement."

On February 17, 1951, Mr. Koestler appeared before the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

In view of Arthur Koestler's complete disassociation from the Communist Party and his efforts to ameliorate his error in judgment by his activities since this disassociation in 1938, it is respectfully urged that Senate bill 674 for the lawful admittance into the United States for permanent residence of the alien Arthur Koestler be approved.

Respectfully submitted.

MARTIN RICHMOND,
Attorney for Arthur Koestler.

IN THE MATTER OF S. 674 AND H. R. 1564, FOR THE RELIEF OF ARTHUR KOESTLER
STATE OF NEW YORK,
County of New York, ss:

L. Hollingsworth Wood, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

That he resides at Mount Kisco, N. Y. That he is the chairman of the International Rescue and Relief Committee that organized Arthur Koestler's lecture tour in the United States in 1948. That this was a nonprofit lecture tour for the benefit of refugees from behind the iron curtain. Its theme was to secure help for refugees and to aid in countering the Communist totalitarian threat.

That Koestler's lecture in Carnegie Hall, New York, and the subsequent lectures in Washington, Chicago, Los Angeles, Boston, and San Francisco made a deep impression, particularly on confused liberals, and served as an eye-opener with regard to the true nature of the Soviet regime. In this connection, it might be noted that the text of Mr. Koestler's lecture at Carnegie Hall, New York, was quoted verbatim by Life magazine. Attached hereto and made a part hereof are some of the press notices with regard to that lecture tour.

That since his arrival in this country, Koestler has been untiringly active in helping writers from behind the iron curtain by organizing an American Writers Fund.

That this affidavit is made in connection with the above bills for the granting to Arthur Koestler of permanent residence in the United States. That your deponent is of the opinion that such favorable action would be for the best interests of the United States.

L. HOLLINGSWORTH WOOD.

Sworn to before me this 3d day of May 1951.

[SEAL]

EDNA HYDE McDONALD,
Notary Public, State of New York.

Commission expires March 30, 1952.

IN THE MATTER OF S. 674 AND H. R. 1564, FOR THE RELIEF OF ARTHUR KOESTLER
STATE OF NEW YORK,
County of New York, ss:

Saul Levitas, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

That he resides in the city of New York. That he is the executive editor of the New Leader, a weekly magazine who for the last 26 years has been fighting the Stalinite menace.

That he has known of Koestler's anti-Stalinite activities since 1938 and has known him personally since 1948.

That in his capacity as editor of the New Leader he is constantly moving in circles of European refugees, ex-Communists, and men who have devoted their lives to the anti-Communist struggle.

That in these circles, with their specialized knowledge of goings-on in the Communist movement, it is common knowledge which has never been doubted or disputed that Koestler openly and completely broke with the Communist Party in the spring of 1938 and that since that time his main professional and private preoccupation was to use his experiences while a Communist for the

exposure of Communist methods and a relentless fight against the Communist menace.

That Koestler is one of the most-hated people in Communist and fellow-traveling circles, who regard him as one of their most effective opponents of the pen. That he met Koestler during the Congress for Cultural Freedom in June 1950, in Berlin. That this congress and the international movement which ensued from it is regarded as an effective democratic counterpart of the Russian-inspired, so-called Stockholm Peace Campaign. That Koestler was one of the most effective speakers and organizers of this congress and the movement which ensued from it and that he is the author of the Manifesto, copy of which is attached hereto, which was unanimously adopted by the congress and serves as a platform for this movement.

That Koestler is also the author of various anonymous pamphlets, including the one titled "We Put Freedom First," copy of which is attached hereto, which has been distributed in many European countries to combat the so-called neutralist tendencies in Europe.

That deponent believes that Arthur Koestler's presence in the United States is imperative and necessary for him to continue his fight against totalitarianism. That he strongly urges that favorable action be taken on the above bills.

SAUL LEVITAS.

Sworn to before me this 3d day of May, 1951.

[SEAL]

MARTIN RICHMOND,
Notary Public, State of New York.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
AMERICAN EMBASSY,
Rome, May 7, 1951.

Mr. MARTIN RICHMOND,
40 Exchange Place, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. RICHMOND: It is with great pleasure that I enclose the attached affidavit which has been properly notarized. It is a great pleasure for me because not only is Arthur Koestler a good friend of mine but it is also my personal opinion that he has probably contributed more than anyone else to unmasking the false pretensions of the Soviet Union and in revealing its true nature.

The publication in Paris of his novel *Darkness at Noon* was a historic event and probably will mark from a historical viewpoint the beginning of the decline of communism in France, if not in Europe. Koestler's residence in the United States would certainly be a great intellectual contribution to American life and I hope that we shall have the wisdom to arrange it.

Very sincerely yours,

NORRIS B. CHIPMAN,
Counselor of Embassy

Enclosure: Affidavit.

IN THE MATTER OF S. 674 AND H. R. 1564 FOR THE RELIEF OF ARTHUR KOESTLER

REPUBLIC OF ITALY,

Province of Rome, City of Rome,

Embassy (Consulate Section) of the United States of America, ss:

Norris Chipman, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

That he is counselor attached to the United States Embassy in Rome, Italy. That formerly he was attached to the American Embassy in Paris, France.

That he knows of his own knowledge that Arthur Koestler's books in France had a political impact far beyond the narrow circle of the so-called intelligentsia and represented a strong propaganda weapon in the arsenal for democracy.

That he knows Koestler in his public and private life had as his main pre-occupation to fight Communist aggression, Communist infiltration, and Communist-inspired "neutralism." That it is his personal opinion that Koestler's break with the Communist Party was sincere and definite and that he has never since associated with the Communist Party or any of its front organizations.

That it is his considered opinion that if Koestler is given the right of permanent residence in the United States, he will continue to serve the democratic cause.

That for this reason, your deponent recommends that favorable action be taken on the above bills.

NORRIS CHIPMAN.

Sworn to before me this 4th day of May 1951.

[SEAL]

JOSEPHINE PASQUINI,
Vice Consul of the United States of America, at Rome, Italy.

Service No. 10620.

IN THE MATTER OF S. 674 AND H. R. 1564, FOR THE RELIEF OF ARTHUR KOESTLER
In the DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, ss:

Robert P. Joyce, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

That he resides in Washington, D. C.

That since 1928 he has been a career diplomat in the service of the United States. That at present, he is a member of the policy planning staff of the State Department.

That as a member of the United States Diplomatic Service, he has followed developments in Soviet Russia and in the International Communist movement.

That he first met Koestler personally in Paris in 1948, but had known of Koestler's career as a political writer and propagandist before.

That it is his personal knowledge that Koestler was a member of the Communist Party during the 1930's; that he broke with the Communist Party publicly and openly some time in 1938. That the reason for his knowing Koestler's name prior to making his personal acquaintance was that Koestler's writings were considered effective instruments in the ideological struggle against communism and were recommended reading in the Department of State for members of the Diplomatic Corps, particularly concerned with Russia.

That he knows that in addition to his literary activities, Koestler was one of the organizers of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, held in Berlin in 1950, to counter Russian propaganda, and played an effective part in this congress and in the movement which ensued from it.

That during his personal acquaintance with Koestler, he formed the opinion, that, if Koestler were granted the right of permanent residence in this country, he would continue to render useful service in the ideological struggle against communism.

Your deponent recommends that favorable action be taken by Congress on Arthur Koestler's bills.

ROBERT P. JOYCE.

Sworn to before me this 2d day of May 1951.

[SEAL]

ROSE F. ELKIN,
Notary Public, District of Columbia.

My commission expires October 14, 1953.

IN THE MATTER OF S. 674 AND H. R. 1564, FOR THE RELIEF OF ARTHUR KOESTLER
STATE OF NEW YORK,
County of New York, ss:

Bertram David Wolfe, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

That he resides at 68 Montague Street, Borough of Brooklyn, City and State of New York.

That he is the Chief of the Ideological Advisory Unit, International Broadcasting Division, Department of State. That he is the author of the book entitled "Three Who Made a Revolution," the subject of which is the Bolshevik revolution of 1917. That he has written on communism, totalitarianism, democracy, and other related matters. That he has filled the post of senior fellow in Slavic studies at the Hoover Library and senior fellow at the Russian Institute of Columbia University. That he has lectured on these matters at many of America's universities, contributed articles to university publications and edited the journal, Russian Affairs. That both as author and lecturer and in his capacity with the State Department he is considered an expert in matters relating to communism.

That he has known of Arthur Koestler's break with the Communist Party in 1938 and followed Koestler's career as a champion of anticommunism, since his break.

That more recently he has made Koestler's personal acquaintance. That it is his personal conviction that Koestler's break with the Communist Party was sincere and definite, and that he has never since associated with the Communist Party or any of its front organizations.

That he has had opportunity to observe Arthur Koestler's activities and writings since Mr. Koestler's break with communism and has noted that both as lecturer and writer and as one of the founders of the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Mr. Koestler has performed able service in fighting for cultural freedom and against totalitarian and Communist ideological dictatorship.

That it is his further conviction that in view of Koestler's past and expected future contributions, an act to legalize his permanent residence in the United States is justifiable and is in the best interests of the United States.

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE.

Sworn to before me this 1st day of May 1951.

[SEAL]

J. WALTER SMITH,

Notary Public in the State of New York.

Commission expires March 30, 1952.

IN THE MATTER OF S. 674, FOR THE RELIEF OF ARTHUR KOESTLER

STATE OF NEW YORK,

County of New York, ss:

Melvin J. Lasky, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

That he resides at 719 Avenue Y, Borough of Brooklyn, City of New York.

That he is an American citizen, having been born in the United States. That for many years he has been a member of the Department of State where his essential duties have been as editor and publisher of an international magazine (in the German language) devoted to the clarification of the issues in Europe and the world between western democracy and Communist totalitarians.

That he also was an officer of the United States Army, having served as a captain during World War II.

That he is a journalist and newspaperman and has been so engaged for a decade. That he has written many newspaper and magazine articles on anticommunism in the United States and the rest of the world and has often been consulted by Government agencies interested in investigating communism and is considered by these agencies an expert on the subject.

That he was for many years an editor of a leading American news weekly, the New Leader, which has often led the fight of public opinion against Soviet-dominated maneuvers.

That as a member of the United States Military Government and later High Commissioner in Germany, he was often instrumental in the formulation of pro-western, pro-democratic, and decisive anti-Communist policies in central Europe.

That he was during 1950 the organizer and secretary-general of the Berlin Congress for Cultural Freedom, which won world-wide attention for its dramatic challenge to the Russian so-called Partisans of Peace.

That he has known Arthur Koestler intimately for 2 years and has met with him innumerable times, both in the United States and abroad.

That since 1938 he knows Arthur Koestler's journalistic activities as well as the books he published were almost exclusively devoted to combating totalitarianism in general and communism in particular. That he knows Mr. Koestler's works include *Darkness at Noon*, *Scum of the Earth*, *Arrival and Departure*, *Thieves in the Night*, *The Yogi and the Commissar*, *Insight and Outlook*, *The Age of Longing*, etc. That he knows in 1948 Mr. Koestler, in addition to his literary activities, was one of the initiators of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, held in Berlin in 1950, and of an international movement which issued from it, *Les Amis de la Liberté*, in France and the parallel movement in Italy and Western Germany. He is a member of the five-man international executive committee of the movement. That he knows in March of 1948 until May of the same year Mr. Koestler visited the United States in connection with a number of lectures on behalf of the International Rescue and Relief Committee. That he knows at present Mr. Koestler's *Darkness at Noon* is being produced on Broadway by Mr. Sidney Kingsley. This work is being hailed as a tremendous instrument in combating totalitarianism. That he knows of his own knowledge that Arthur Koestler has been an active champion in the fight against totalitarianism. That he knows of his own knowledge that there is no evidence of Mr.

Koestler's association with any Soviet international organization or the Communist Party in any country of the world since his open repudiation in 1938.

That it is his considered opinion that Arthur Koestler's contribution to this important work has been considerable and promises to be ever increasing. Your deponent strongly urges that favorable action be taken on the above bill.

MELVIN J. LASKY.

Sworn to before me this 1st day of May 1951.

[SEAL]

MARTIN RICHMOND,
Notary Public, State of New York.

IN THE MATTER OF S. 674 AND H. R. 1564, FOR THE RELIEF OF ARTHUR KOESTLER

In the DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, ss:

Raymond E. Murphy, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

That he resides at 3438 Mount Pleasant Street, NW. Washington, D. C.

In connection with his work he became thoroughly conversant with political trends within the Communist movement and with personalities engaged in the fight against communism, including in particular, former members of the Communist Party.

That in this context, he has known of Arthur Koestler during the last 10 years and has made his personal acquaintance during Koestler's first visit to the United States in 1948.

That it is his considered opinion that since his break with communism in 1938, Koestler has been one of the most useful writers and propagandists in combating Communist aggression and infiltration.

That it is his considered opinion that if Koestler is given the right of permanent residence in the United States, he will continue to serve the democratic cause. That for these reasons, your deponent recommends that favorable action be taken on the above bills.

RAYMOND E. MURPHY.

Sworn to before me this 2d day of May 1951.

DAVID SCULL, Notary Public.

My commission expires July 1, 1951.

IN THE MATTER OF S. 674 AND H. R. 1564, FOR THE RELIEF OF ARTHUR KOESTLER

STATE OF NEW YORK,

County of New York, ss:

George Platt Brett, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

That he resides at Southport, Conn.

That he is an American citizen, having been born in the United States. That he has been president of the Macmillan Co. at 60 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., since 1931. That he is a trustee of the Union Square Savings Bank, New York City.

That his firm has been the sole publishers of Koestler's works in the United States since 1938 and has published to this date 11 of his books. That various directors, members and representatives of his firm have been in constant personal touch with Koestler since 1939 and that he has known Koestler personally since the latter's first visit to the United States in 1948. That these 12 years of personal and business contacts have been free from friction and disputes such as not infrequently occur between author and publishers and that he has been able to form the opinion that Koestler is a trustworthy and fair-minded person.

That he knows that Koestler lived in Paris until the outbreak of the war and that he enlisted as a volunteer subsequently in the French and British Armies. That after his honorable discharge from the British Army, he was employed as a British Army lecturer, broadcaster and on various jobs by the British Ministry of Information and other Government agencies connected with psychological warfare.

That Arthur Koestler's international reputation as a writer rests on his powerful exposition of the Communist mind, of the methods of Communist infiltration and expansion and of the mentality of the victims of Communist demogogy. That two of his books in particular, *Darkness at Noon* and *The Yogi and the Commissar*, are generally considered to rank among the most effective intellectual weapons against communism. That *Darkness at Noon* is a novel about the Russian purges, was a Book of the Month Club choice in the United States and a

best seller in many European countries. In the United States it had a considerable effect in curing many well-meaning and confused Liberals of their illusions about the Soviet regime. That in France this novel was published after the war and that its effect has been described by the leading French conservative newspaper, *Le Figaro*, as "the most important single factor which led to the defeat of the Communist Party in the referendum on the Constitution in 1946." That this novel is now being presented as a play by Mr. Sidney Kingsley and has won the critics' award for the best play of the season and been generally acclaimed by critics as the most effective anti-Communist play.

That the other book, *The Yogi and the Commissar*, contains summary exposition of the Soviet regime and had, as a nonfictional essay, a similar political impact as the novel mentioned before.

That Koestler's other nine books, which deal with a variety of subjects ranging from philosophical essays to drama and autobiography, all revolve directly or indirectly around the Soviet threat to our civilization and the means of repelling it. That apart from his activities as a writer, Koestler has been devoting much of his free time to helping the victims of Soviet persecution by giving lectures for the benefit of refugees and by assigning his total income from the Broadway production of his book to a fund for refugee writers which he initiated under the name of Fund for Intellectual Freedom.

That is his considered opinion that if Koestler is given the right of permanent residence in the United States, he will continue to serve the democratic cause. That for these reasons, your deponent recommends that favorable action be taken on the above bills.

GEORGE PLATT BRETT.

Sworn to before me this 27th day of April 1951.

[SEAL]

MARTHA KOCH,

Notary Public, State of New York.

Commission expires March 30, 1952.

IN THE MATTER OF S. 674 AND H. R. 1564, FOR THE RELIEF OF ARTHUR KOESTLER

STATE OF NEW YORK,

County of New York, ss:

Jay Lovestone, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

That he resides in the city of New York.

That he is the executive secretary of the Free Trade Union Committee, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

That for many years, deponent has been actively engaged both in and out of labor circles in the constant war against Communist infiltration, in American affairs in general and the trade-union movement in particular. That in connection with these activities, it has come to deponent's personal knowledge that Arthur Koestler has openly and completely broken with the Communist Party in and about the spring of 1938. That since that time, he has devoted all of his efforts in exposing the Communist methods.

It is conceded among those interested in the Communist menace that Koestler's contributions are invaluable. That it is known by those active in this constant war, that Koestler is one of the most hated men in Communist and fellow-traveler circles.

That it is conceded by all and within the personal knowledge of deponent that there is no evidence of Mr. Koestler's association with the Communist Party Soviet international organizations or any of its fronts, in any country of the world since his open repudiation in 1938.

That deponent strongly urges that the above bills be favorably acted upon by the Legislature of the United States.

JAY LOVESTONE.

Sworn to before me this 26th day of April 1951.

[SEAL]

SANTO J. OLIVA,

Notary Public, State of New York.

Commission expires March 30, 1953

An identical bill passed the Senate on June 21, 1951.

The committee, having considered all the facts in this case, is of the opinion that H. R. 1564 should be enacted; and it accordingly recommends that the bill do pass.